

## Message Text

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ACTION PM-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 H-03 OMB-01 ACDA-19 AEC-11 OIC-04

CU-04 RSR-01 EB-11 /159 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7202

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T BONN 12588

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW, US

SUBJECT: MBFR: DEFMIN EMPHASIS ON MBFR--I COMMON CEILING  
AGREEMENT

REF: BONN 12392

SUMMARY: SENIOR DEFENSE MINISTRY OFFICIALS ARE DEMANDING THAT ALLIANCE MUST, AS INTERNAL POSITION, MAKE COMMON CEILING AGREEMENT IN MBFR-I A PRECONDITION TO SIGNING INITIAL REDUCTION AGREEMENT LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET FORCES. END SUMMARY.

1. WE REPORTED IN REFTEL THAT FONOFF REPS HAVE EXPRESSED SATISFACTION TO US WITH US READINESS TO PRESS SOVIETS DURING MBFR-I FOR AGREEMENT ON COMMON CEILING. BUT WHILE FONOFF REPS INDICATED UNDERSTANDING FOR US UNWILLINGNESS TO MAKE COMMON CEILING AGREEMENT A PRECONDITION TO MBFR-I AGREEMENT, DEFENSE MINISTRY IS INSISTING ON JUST SUCH A PRECONDITION.

2. ASST. SECRETARY WIECK AND ADMIRAL STEINHAUS (POLICY PLANNING STAFF) ADVISED EMBOFF AUGUST 31 OF "FIRM" DEFMIN POSITION THAT  
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ALLIANCE MUST, AS INTERNAL POSITION, MAKE COMMON CEILING AGREE-

MENT PRECONDITION TO CONCLUDING AN MBFR-I REDUCTION AGREEMENT LIMITED TO US/SOVIET STATIONED FORCES. WIECK AND STEINHAUS CON- TENDED THAT ANY OTHER INTERNAL ALLIANCE POSITION, INCLUDING US PLEDGE TO MAKE STRONG EFFORT TO REACH AGREE- MENT, WAS UNLIKELY TO OVERCOME INEVITABLE SOVIET RESISTANCE. IN FACT, DEFMIN OFFICIALS SAID THEY ASSUMED RUSSIANS WOULD ADOPT AT LEAST OPENING POSTURE THAT US/SOVIET CUTS SHOULD BE "EQUAL HEAD FOR HEAD REDUCTIONS." STEINHAUS ASKED RHETORICALLY WHAT US WOULD DO IF EVEN VIGOROUS WESTERN EFFORTS TO WIN COMMON CEILING AGREEMENT WON ONLY REPEATED "NYETS". HE THOUGHT THE US WOULD BE INCLINED IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES TO SET ASIDE INSIS- TENCE ON COMMON CEILING IN FACE OF CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES.

3. EMBOFF TOLD WIECK AND STEINHAUS THAT US OFFICIALS HAD STRESSED THAT SUCH A COMMON CEILING AGREEMENT WAS VERY MUCH IN US SELF- INTEREST AND, IN FACT, REPRESENTED A BASIC RATIONALE OF AMERICAN MBFR POLICY. HENCE, EMBOFF WAS DISAPPOINTED AT NEGATIVE DEFMIN REACTION TO INTENTION US OFFICIALS EXPRESSED TO RUTH TO MAKE TENACIOUS EFFORT TO WIN COMMON CEILING AGREEMENT IN MBFR-I. EMBOFF URGED DEFMIN OFFICIALS TO RECONSIDER THEIR ATTITUDE, SAYING IT WOULD BE UNWISE, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF MANSFIELD PRESSURES, TO ACCEPT PRE-CONDITION FAVORED BY MOD. IN THIS CON- NECTION, EMBOFF ASKED HYPOTHETICALLY WHETHER WEST COULD EXPLAIN TO PUBLIC/PARLIAMENTARY OPINION A REJECTION OF AN MBFR-I AGREE- MENT ENTAILING 15 PERCENT REDUCTIONS OF US/SOVIET FORCES (IN- CLUDING SOVIET TANK ARMY), CONSTRAINTS AND RUSSIAN AGREEMENT TO ENTER INTO MBFR-II AGREEMENT.

4. STEINHAUS SAID ALLIANCE COULD ANSWER EMBOFF'S QUESTION WHEN IT PRESENTED ITSELF, BUT ALLIES MUST NOW FIX COMMON CEILING PRECONDITION AS INTERNAL ALLIED POSITION; HE SAID COMMON CEILING NEED NOT BE ADVANCED AS PRECNDITION TO SOVIETS AT EARLY STAGE OF VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. COMMENT: THIS LATTER REMARK MAY INDICATE THAT DEFMIN WISHES TO WIN APPROVAL OF COMMON CEILING PRECON- DITION AS PART OF CONFIDENTIAL MBFR GUIDELINE PAPER RATHER THAN ALLIANCE POSITION PAPER. END COMMENT.

5. WIECK AND STEINHAUS ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT SOVIETS MIGHT AGREE IN MBFR-I TO PURSUE COMMON CEILING GOAL BUT THEN FLATLY REFUSE TO ACCEPT FURTHER RED ARMY CUTS IN MBFR-II, PROPOSING  
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INSTEAD TO ARRIVE AT EASTERN 704,000 CEILING BY LIMITING THE ROUGHLY 120,000 MBFR-II CUTS TO POLISH, CZECH, AND GDR FORCES. TO STEINHAUS' QUESTION, EMBOFF SAID US HAD ALREADY MADE CLEAR TO ALLIES ITS BELIEF THAT REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT LIMITED TO BUNDESWEHR/EE FORCES WOULD NOT BE IN ALLIANCE (OR SPECIFICALLY US) INTEREST. ACCORDINGLY, US WOULD NOT WISH TO SUPPORT SUCH AN MBFR-II AGREEMENT. INSTEAD, SOVIETS WOULD BE PRESSED TO PAR- TICIPATE IN MBFR-II ACCORD AND WEST WOULD HAVE SOME BARGAINING

TOOLS -- I.E., RUSSIAN WISH FOR BUNDESWEHR (AND POSSIBLY  
ADDITIONAL U.S.) REDUCTIONS, POSSIBILITY OF US TACNUC CUTS,  
AND FACT THAT, AFTER INITIAL 15 PERCENT CUT, PRESSURE FOR FUR-  
THER US REDUCTIONS UNLIKELY TO BE SO GREAT AS IN FIRST ROUND.

6. IN CLOSING, EMBOFF INQUIRED REGARDING DEFMIN POSITION ON  
MBFR VERIFICATION. STEINHAUS SAID NATURE AND INTENSITY OF VER-  
IFICATION SHOULD DEPEND ON QUANTITY AND CHARACTER OF REDUCTIONS.  
IN REPLY TO EMBOFF'S QUESTION ON NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, HE  
SAID DEFMIN WOULD NOT WISH ANYMORE INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION  
IN GERMANY THAN IS ESSENTIAL.  
HILLENBRAND

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